DOCUMENT RESUME

RC 003 189

ED 027 106

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A Comparative Study of the Job Performance of Spanish-Surname Police Officers in San Antonio, Texas.

Pub Date 67

Note-23p.

EDRS Price MF-$0.25 HC-$1.25

Descriptors-Anglo Americans, *Comparative Analysis, Cultural Background, Cultural Traits, Educational Disadvantagement, Leave of Absence, *Mexican Americans, *Performance Factors, *Police, Spanish Americans, *Spanish Speaking, Unskilled Occupations

Identifiers-San Antonio, *Texas

Conducted in 1967, this study contrasted the job performance of Spanish-surname and non-Spanish-surname police officers in the Investigation and Uniform Divisions of the San Antonio Police Department. Educational level and educational performance limited the number of Mexican Americans on the police force. The job performance factors considered were scores on promotion examinations, supervisory ratings, use of sick and annual leave, and accident rates. Mexican Americans were significantly underrepresented in the police force in proportion to Mexican American representation in the city, and they scored lower on the Probationary Patrolman Examination (perhaps attributable to the lack of language facility or poor education in school). However, there were no significant differences between Spanish-surname and non-Spanish-surname officers in the amounts of sick and annual leave taken, nor in the accident rates. The supervisory efficiency rating was not found to be lower for Spanish-surname officers as previously believed. It was concluded that there was little evidence to support the hypothesis that the rural folk culture background of the Mexican American limited his effectiveness in a complex organization in an industrial economy. (CM)

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ED027106

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE JOB PERFORMANCE OF SPANISH-SURNAME POLICE OFFICERS IN SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS

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1967

A slightly revised version of this paper is forthcoming in Phylon.

RC003189

A B S T R A C T

This study contrasts the job performance of Spanish-surname and non-Spanish-surname police officers in the Investigation and Uniform Divisions of the San Antonio Police Department. The job performance factors included scores on promotion examinations, supervisory ratings, use of sick leave and annual leave, and accident rates. Little evidence was found to support the hypothesis that the rural-folk culture background of the Mexican-American limits his effectiveness in a complex organization in an industrial economy.

A Comparative Study of the Job Performance of Spanish-Surname Police Officers in San Antonio, Texas

After the Negro, the largest minority group in the United States is the Mexican-American. The cultural background of the Mexican-American is rural-folk. It has been suggested that such a background produces individuals who have relatively much difficulty acculturating into a modern industrial economy.

There is evidence that the Mexican-American has not acculturated to the extent that he is able to share in the benefits of the high level economy in which he lives. The head of the U. S. Equal Employment Commission, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., has said that "... his commission is aware of 800 national companies with operations in the Southwest and West that don't hire a single Mexican-American."[1] The occupational distribution in the United States shows a disproportionately larger number of Mexican-Americans in the job categories which require less skill (such as laborer and operative) and a disproportionately smaller number of Mexican-Americans in the job categories which require more skill (such as professional and manager).[2] The Mexican-

Americans, like the Negroes, tend to be differentiated from the larger society through their concentration in ghettoes in the cities.[3] Other evidence revealing the disadvantaged status of the Mexican-American is that which shows their disproportionately higher rates of crime.[4]

The rural-folk society background of the Mexican-American dictates behavior and values which allegedly limit his progress in an industrial society. In a rural-folk society the family plays a relatively important role. It usually extends into several generations and includes all blood relations. The family, as the main source of recreation, production, and consumption, shelters the individual from many of the influences of the outside world.[5] This atomistic-type social system "... is characterized by an absence of cooperation between nuclear families...in which qualities of contention, invidiousness, and wariness are paramount in the perceptions which nuclear families hold of one another ..."[6] There is an absence of experience in organized groups. This allegedly reduces the individual's ability to function in business enterprises where group activity is necessary. There is no place for competition among the members of the

family nor does one learn to aggressively seek personal profit through family relationships. The Mexican-American's close dependence on his family and the subsequent infrequency of contact with outside groups does not equip him with the profit-seeking, competitive orientation which is a necessary requisite to success in an industrial society.[7] There is little organization or striving for future monetary gains because the time orientation emphasizes the satisfaction of present needs and wishes.[8]

Many researchers have sought to explain why the acculturation of the Mexican-American has been slow.[9] One explanation is that the Mexican-American's lack of preparation prevents him from securing good jobs. His lack of preparation has been traced to a language handicap.[10] Another barrier is thought to be his lack of knowledge of the ways of securing employment.[11] Still another barrier may be the prejudice associated with the "...ready identifications between Mexicans and menial labor, buttressed by an image of the Mexican worker as improvident, undependable, irresponsible, childlike, and indolent."[12] Broom and Selznick have suggested that the slow acculturation of the Mexican-American may be attributed to their lack of appreciation

for the value of education. Furthermore, Broom and Selznick maintain that they have traditionally liked working in ethnic gangs and have lacked interest in business activities. These factors would tend to limit exposure to the larger society. The size of the Mexican-American minority groups and the continual immigration of Mexican nationals reinforces the rural-folk ethnic culture. Finally, Broom and Selznick indicate that when the light-skinned Mexican-American acculturates into the Anglo society the Mexican-American community loses contact with him. He does not, therefore, serve as a model for others in their acculturation.[13] One may suppose that the interests of the acculturated Mexican-American as a political leader may lie with the Anglo-Americans rather than with the Mexican-Americans.

Researchers have observed that there have been significant changes in factors which have contributed to the slow acculturation of the Mexican-American. Penalosa reports that "...despite great obstacles, this population as a whole is clearly moving further away from the lower-class Mexican traditional culture and toward Anglo-American middle class culture, so that both its cultural status and its social-class status

are changing."[14] There is evidence that the Mexican-American has become considerably more urban. Forty-four per cent of California's Spanish-American population reside in the Los Angeles-Long Beach metropolitan area while 12 per cent reside in the San Francisco-Oakland metropolitan area.[15] There is a concentration of Mexican-Americans in the metropolitan counties in Texas: in 1960, 68.6 per cent of the state's Spanish-surname population was concentrated in seven counties.[16] Between 1950 and 1960 there was an increase from 66.4 per cent to 79.1 per cent in the Spanish-speaking persons living in cities in Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, California, and Arizona.[17]

Analysis of the 1950 and 1960 U.S. Census data shows not only absolute, but general relative improvement in the educational and occupational status of the Mexican-Americans.[18] The schooling gap between Mexican-American and Anglo-Americans was reduced from 5.9 years in 1950 to 5.0 years in 1960. The gap is considerably less in the younger generations.[19] It has been reported that the Spanish-surname males increased their representation in the professional and technical job categories 82.4 per cent, at more than twice the rate of either the Anglo-Americans or Negroes.[20] A study of heads of Spanish-

surname households concluded that "...there is evidence that improvement of job skills has taken place among the Spanish-American people. The trend was primarily from farm work toward blue collar jobs."[21]

The purpose of this research is to consider certain aspects of the acculturation of a selected group of Mexican-Americans. Does the influence of the rural-folk society reduce the Mexican-American's job performance in a large organization?[22]

Method

This study is a comparison of selected factors in the job performance of Spanish-surname police officers in the police department of the city of San Antonio, Texas. The job performance of the Spanish-surname officers is compared with that of the non-Spanish-surname police officers on the basis of scores on the Probationary Patrolman Examination, participation in and scores on promotion examinations, use of sick leave and annual leave, and accident rates. This research setting provides an opportunity to investigate the alleged influences of the rural folk society on the Mexican-American's employed in a complex organization.

The source of the data is the records of the Personnel Department of the City of San Antonio.[24]

Findings

Mexican-Americans are under-represented in the Investigation and Uniform Divisions of the police department as well as in each of the job ranks: patrolman, detective-investigator, sergeant, lieutenant and inspector. A comparison of the proportion of Spanish-surname persons in each non-civilian job ranks, as indicated by the 1965 Annual Report of the San Antonio Police Department, with the proportion expected on the basis of the Mexican-American representation in the city, reveals that there is significantly under-representation (d.f.=9, X^2=94.13) of the Mexican-American.

From December 6, 1949 through March 10, 1967, 1,526 police cadets took the Probationary Patrolman Examination administered after three months of training in the police academy. This test examines the cadet's knowledge of information necessary to the proper conduct of the job of patrolman. Slightly over 21 per cent of those taking the test had Spanish-surnames. The difference between the mean scores of the Spanish-surname and non-Spanish-surname cadets was significant at the .02 level or beyond. The

Spanish-surname police cadets made significantly lower scores on the Probationary Patrolman Examination.

In order to be promoted into a vacancy a police officer must take the initiative to apply for the promotion examination. Six hundred and forty-eight police officers took the promotion examination in November and December, 1966 and in January and February, 1967. While persons of Spanish-surname represented 24.69 per cent of the personnel in the Investigation and Uniform Divisions, 53.13 per cent of them took the promotion examination during this period. The non-Spanish-surname persons represented 75.31 per cent of the two divisions but only 44.67 per cent of them took the promotion examination. Separating the proportions of Spanish-surname and non-Spanish-surname officers who took the promotion examination by job rank, patrolman, detective-investigator, sergeant, captain, and inspector, a value of $x^2=3.829$ was revealed. The Spanish-surname police officers took the initiative to seek promotion in a greater proportion than would be expected by their representation in the Investigation and Uniform Divisions. The greater degree of initiative was independent of job rank.

The promotion of a police officer depends on his

score on the promotion examination, an appraisal of his efficiency by his superiors, and on his seniority. A comparison was made of the mean grades made on the promotion examination and on the efficiency reports between Spanish-surname and non-Spanish-surname police officers who took the promotion examination in November and December, 1966 and January and February, 1967. A comparison revealed an insignificant difference ($p<.29$) between the mean scores of the efficiency ratings of supervisors. There was a significant difference ($p<.01$) between the mean scores on promotion examinations. Analysis revealed that this difference was independent of level of education ($F_{5,5}=1.53$), job rank ($F_{3,3}=1.11$), and seniority ($F_{3,3}=1.36$), but not independent of age ($F_{3,3}=46.46$).

A comparison was made of the use of sick leave and annual leave by the Spanish-surname and non-Spanish-surname police officers who were on the employment during 1966.[26] There was no significant difference in the amount of sick leave taken in 1966 ($p<.18$), in the amount of annual leave taken in 1965 ($p<.32$) or 1966 ($p<.35$), in the amount of sick leave accumulated through 1966 ($p<.38$) or in annual leave accumulated through 1966 ($p<.28$). There was a statistically

significant differences in the use of sick leave in 1965 ($p < .06$) which was independent of level of education ($F_{5,5} = 2.58$) but was not independent of job rank ($F_{4,4} = 12.20$), seniority ($F_{3,3} = 35.93$), or age ($F_{4,4} = 24.49$).

The names of police officers who were involved in accidents were gathered for a one year period ending in December, 1966. Analysis of these data revealed that the Spanish-surname police officers were not involved in accidents in any greater proportion than would be expected from their representation on the police force (d.f.=1, $\chi^2 = .23$). The accident pattern for both Spanish-surname and non-Spanish-surname groups tended to follow the usual pattern of being related to youth.[27] Analysis showed that for both groups chi-square values were critical at the .05 level or beyond for age and seniority but not critical at the .05 level or beyond for education.

It is not surprising to find a disproportionate representation of Mexican-Americans in the San Antonio Police Department. Among other requirements, job applicants are expected to have a high school education.[28] In 1950, the median number of school years completed by Spanish-surname persons in San Antonio was 4.5 compared to with 11.8 years for Anglo-Americans. In 1960 the median years had risen to 5.7 for Mexican-Americans and to 12.0 for Anglo-Americans.[29]

One cannot expect a representation in the divisions of Mexican-Americans based on the proportion of Mexican-Americans in the city because that proportion does not reflect the number of individuals who are qualified for the work. About 5½ per cent of the Spanish-surname population of San Antonio has at least a high school education.[30] Considering the number of persons who are qualified for the work, there is a disproportionately greater number of Mexican-Americans on the police force.

Inadequate and inferior education largely explains the lack of representation of the minority groups in the better job categories.[31] This insight has contributed to the development of certain private and federal programs which seek to increase the skills of workers.[32]

One is tempted to try to trace the pattern of differences in the job performance of the Spanish-surname and non-Spanish-surname police officers as manifestations of the rural-folk cultural background of the Mexican-American. It appears, however, that the findings mitigate against such an interpretation. There are instances in which one would expect the rural-folk background to dictate certain behavior, but the findings reveal that in many cases it does not. One would expect that the Mexican-American would not be as interested in promotion as the

Anglo-American since he is allegedly not as competitive. The findings showed the opposite to be true. One would expect the supervisory efficiency rating of the Mexican-American to be relatively low because he is not thought to function well where group activity is necessary. There were no significant differences in rating scores. One is inclined to assume that the Mexican-American will take relatively more sick leave and annual leave because he allegedly considers the present more important than the future. He presumably will not accumulate for the future but will live for today. These findings cast doubt on this explanation.

It has been theorized that accidents may be a result of unresolved psychological conflict.[33] If the Mexican-American has difficulty adapting in this organization one would expect his accident rate to be higher than that of the Anglo-American. The findings reveal that this is not true.

In several instances there was significantly inferior performance among the Mexican-Americans. These were the scores on the Probationary Patrolman Examinations, scores on the promotion examination, and in the use of sick leave in 1965. The difference in promotion scores and in sick leave in 1965 were shown to be not independent

of certain other influences. Promotion scores were not independent of age; sick leave in 1965 was not independent of job rank, seniority, or age. The differences cannot be attributed entirely to ethnicity. It may be hypothesized that the inferior scores on the two types of promotion examinations may be attributed to educational differences. While both groups may have attained the same level of education, as a requirement for employment, differences in educational achievement may still exist. One difference may be the lack of language facility if the individual's family and friends prefer to speak Spanish. Another difference may be that the Mexican-American with a high school education may not be as well educated as the Anglo-American either because he has attended inferior schools or has been poorly educated in the schools.[34]

It may be concluded from these findings that there is little evidence that the influences of the rural-folk culture limits the job performance of the Mexican-American police officer in the San Antonio Police Department. The factor which appears to be strongly related to his disproportionately smaller representation on the police force and to the infrequent instances of inferior job performance in the Investigation and Uniform Divisions is his relatively poor education.

Notes

1. Ray Shaw, "Overlook Minority," Wall Street Journal XXXVII No. 86 (May 3, 1966), p. 1.
2. U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Persons of Spanish Surname, Final Report PC(2), Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963.
3. See Joan W. Moore and Frank G. Mittelbach, Residential Segregation in the Urban Southwest. A preliminary report of the Mexican-American Study Project, University of California, Los Angeles, 1966.
4. Celia S. Heller reports that the rate of criminal offenses among Mexican-American youth is higher than the rate of either the non-Mexican whites or Negroes. Mexican-American Youth: Forgotten Youth at the Crossroads (New York: Random House, 1966).
p. 13. Bernard Valdez reports that in Colorado there is "...a disproportionate ratio of Spanish-Americans to all others in all correctional institutions..." A Report of Spanish-Americans in Correctional Institutions and on Parole. Department of Institutions, Department of Social Welfare, Colorado (June 30, 1963), p. 7.

5. See Bernard Valdez, Contrasts Between Spanish Folk and Anglo Urban Cultural Values. Department of Institutions, Department of Social Welfare, Colorado, June 30, 1963, pp. 1-2.
6. Arthur J. Rubel, Across the Tracks: Mexican-Americans in a Texas City (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1966), p. 239.
7. Bernard Valdez, op. cit., pp. 3-5.
8. Paul Bullock, "Employment Problems of the Mexican-American," Industrial Relations 3 (May, 1964), p. 39.
9. For a study of the complex combinations of variables that are involved in acculturations of the Mexican-American worker see: Lyle W. Shannon, et. al., The Economic Absorbtions and Cultural Integration of Immigrant Workers (Iowa City, Iowa; Division of Extensions and University Services, 1966).
10. Marion Woods, "Employment Problems of the Mexican American," A report presented by the State Supervisor of the Minority Employment Programs, Marion J. Woods, to the Assembly Sub-Committee on Special Employment Problems, Los Angeles, (January 10, 1964), p. 7.

A major problem facing the elementary schools in the border states is how to provide compensatory education for non-English-speaking children. Professor George I. Sanchez suggests that the education of such children should begin in the mother tongue. See "History, Culture, and Education," Julian Samora (editor), La Raza: Forgotten Americans (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966).

11. In a forthcoming study conducted in low-and medium-income census tracts in San Antonio, Texas by the author and Antonio Furino it was found that the Mexican-American tends to rely more on the help of his friends to find employment than does the Anglo-American.

12. Ozzie G. Simmons, "Mutual Images and Expectations of Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans," Daedalus 90 (Spring, 1961), pp. 289.

13. Leonard Broom and Phillip Selznick, Sociology, 3rd Edition (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), p. 500.

14. Fernando Penalosa, "The Changing Mexican-American in Southern California," Sociology and Social Research 51 (July, 1967), pp. 405-17.

15. State of California, Californians of Spanish Surname, A publication of the Fair Employment Practices Commission. (March, 1966), p. 5.

16. Harley L. Browning and S. Dale McLemore, A Statistical Profile of the Spanish-Surname Population of Texas (Austin: Bureau of Business Research, The University of Texas, 1964), p. 13.

17. Donald N. Barrett, "Demographic Characteristics," Julian Samora, op. cit., p. 163.

18. Harley L. Browning and S. Dale McLemore, op. cit., p. 63.

19. "The Educational Gap is Narrowing," Progress Report Mexican-American Study Project. The University of California at Los Angeles, No. 7 (November, 1966), pp. 1-2.

20. Harley L. Browning and S. Dale McLemore, op. cit,, p. 42.

21. R. L. Skrabanek and Avra Rapton, Occupational Changes Among Spanish-Americans in Atascosa County and San Antonio, Texas (College Station: The Texas A & M University, 1966), p. 3.

22. There is a general scarcity of information about the Mexican-American. One of the few sources of information concerning job performance was a study of employment and promotions of minority groups in the California state government. This study revealed that in 1963 Mexican-Americans were under-represented in state employment. An analysis of the 26,672 state civil service examinations taken during the last part of 1964, only two per cent were taken by Mexicans and South Americans. Forty-eight per cent of the Mexicans and South Americans who took the written test passed while 46 per cent of all competitors passed. Eighty-seven per cent of the Mexicans and South Americans passed the performance test while the average for all competitors was 90 per cent. Of the Mexicans and South Americans taking the oral examination 79 per cent passed while the average was 75 per cent for all competitors. State of California, Second Ethnic Survey of Employment and Promotion in State Government. A report to Governor Edmund G. Brown (Sacramento, California: Office of the Governor, 1965). The use of the catagory Mexicans and South Americans makes the results of the California survey

incomparable with studies which use the usual method of identifying the Mexican-American by Spanish-surname. The Spanish-surname methodology was popularized by its use the U. S. Bureau of the Census.

23. The most recent annual report of the police department, 1965, indicates a total of 681 personnel in the Investigation and Uniform Divisions. This study includes approximately 648 men in these divisions. Of the 648, 24.69 per cent had Spanish-surnames. In 1960, persons of Spanish-surname made up 41.45 per cent of the 587,718 population of the city of San Antonio. U. S. Bureau of the Census. U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Vol. I, Characteristics of the Population. Part A. Number of Inhabitants, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1961, p. 183 and Subject Reports. Persons of Spanish Surname. Final Report PC(2) - U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1963, p. 45-23.

24. The author is indebted to the City Council of the City of San Antonio for permission to examine these

records and to Mr. Clyde C. McCollough, Director of Personnel, and his staff for their help in locating and interpreting the data.

25. City of San Antonio, Annual Report, 1965. Police Department, p. 6.

26. These police officers earn 15 days of sick leave each year and accumulate it without limit. They earn 15 days of annual leave each year and accumulate it up to 27 days.

27. For an analysis of accident proness based on twenty seven thousand accidents, see Morris S. Schulzinger, The Accident Syndrome (Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas Publisher, 1956), p. 176.

28. It is not uncommon for a city government to require a high school education of its police officers. The dean of the School of Criminology at the University of California at Berkeley has suggested that two years of college training is justified for those who are to deal with the complex problems of police work. O. N. Wilson, Police Administration (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1950), p. 338.

29. Harley L. Browning and S. Dale McLemore, op. cit., p. 183.

30. U.S. Bureau of the Census. Persons of Spanish Surname. op. cit., p. 183.

31 U. S. Department of Labor, Manpower Report of the President (Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office, April 1967) pp. 78-79.

32. The Ling-Tempco-Vought Corporation, with federal cooperation, is training and relocating Mexican-Americans from the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas to the Dallas area. The Federal Government's Manpower Development and Training Act seeks to aid in meeting the problems of skill shortages. U. S. Department of Labor, op. cit., p. 155.

33. Morris S. Schulzinger, op. cit., p. 47.

34. Schools in Mexican-American sections of cities tend to have smaller tax bases since property values are low. This results in lower salary schedules for teachers. Many such schools are forced to hire teachers without college degrees because they cannot pay salaries which will attract the more qualified individuals.